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The situation in Cyprus

This is Kyrena Beach just before the truce ended. British troops were allowed to leave restricted areas but took their guns with them (note soldier in center with rifle, another at left with Sten gun). Last week the British said they had discovered documents proving that exiled Archbishop Makarios was the real underground leader; forgery, said the Cypriots. And as though they don't have their hands full in Algeria, the French got permission to land more troops on Cyprus. But the clock refuses to turn back.

ONE YEAR AFTER EMMETT TILL

New terror loosed in South to balk integrated schools

By Eugene Gordon

SOME TIME PAST MIDNIGHT on Aug. 28 one year ago, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro boy, vacationing with his sharecropper uncle near Money, Miss., was dragged from bed and the cabin by two white men and hauled away. Emmett Louis Till's mutilated body, weighted by a 90-pound cotton-gin fan, was found in swampy Tallahatchie River three days later. Half-brothers J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant confessed the kidnaping and were indicted for murder on Sept. 6, as 100,000 Chicagoans passed Emmett's pine casket in farewell. A jury on Sept. 23 declared Milam and Bryant innocent; a grand jury refused to indict for kidnaping.

That killing, with failure to convict, was the vent through which generations of dammed-up passion exploded. As the Negro's fightback, supported by growing numbers of white persons, assumed the aspects of a general fight for freedom one year later, the white-supremacist threat persisted. These were the latest developments:

TENNESSEE STORY: On Monday, Aug. 27, 12 Negro pupils walked up the steps of the Clinton, Tenn., High School and entered the building without incident. Two white students with crude signs were picketing the school but they were ignored. They had been egged on by John Kasper, a Washington, D. C., segregationist agitator.

Kasper was arrested on Monday on a charge of attempting to incite a riot. The next day the charge was dismissed. On Wednesday Kasper was back and succeeded in whipping up a mob. Things became so menacing that the 12 students had to be taken home in police cars before the school day ended. A Federal judge in Knoxville issued a restraining order against inciting to riot.

The 12 returned on Thursday with police stationed at all 11 entrances. A crowd of 100 gathered and three white men were

(Continued on Page 3)

Houston Informer

"The Lord looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike."—Psa. 33:14

BEGINNING THIS WEEK

Soviet Central Asia

A series by

TABITHA PETRAN

See page 4

LABOR

AFL-CIO Council backs Stevenson and Kefauver

By Elmer Bendiner

LABOR LEADERS last week had their say on politics, jimcrow, the national economy, the security program and racketeering.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council wound up a day of hard argument with an endorsement of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. Meeting at Unity House, the Pennsylvania summer resort of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, were 24 Council members. Four were absent and there is one vacancy on the 29-men group. They first had to decide whether or not to endorse any candidate.

The CIO had a record of Democratic endorsements. AFL unions have a minority of Republicans among their leaders, including Dave Beck of the Teamsters, Maurice A. Hutcheson of the Carpenters and William McFetridge of the Building Service Employes. They also have a venerable tradition of "non-partisanship," broken only twice before: in 1924 to support Robert LaFollette and in 1952 for Stevenson.

MEANY'S VIEWS: The former CIO unions pressed solidly for endorsement, arguing that failure to endorse would be taken by the public as a mark of satisfaction with the Eisenhower Administration and would handicap some of labor's "friends" on the Democratic ticket.

Opponents feared that an endorsement of the top ticket would be construed as backing for all Democrats. Once the question of whether an endorsement vote should be taken was decided, the Council voted 17-5 to back Stevenson and Kefauver.

The endorsement must be considered by the federation's general board on Sept. 12 but approval was considered certain.

(Continued on Page 6)

THE TREES AND THE WOOD

Belfrage: Thoughts on returning to the free world

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

A RESPECTED New York friend writes: "Your articles about the U.S.S.R. are interesting, but I confess I'm not finding it easy to slough off the horror I have felt as a result of the recent revelations. I wish you could give us a word-of-mouth report."

I wish I could, too. The U.S. political police are against it.

I have returned with a mountain of notes on my six weeks in the world of socialism, my talks with hundreds of people in my 2½ languages and through interpreters. These six weeks have been priceless for me but entitle me to make only one generalization: that socialism works. I make it fresh from encounters with not a few Soviet bureaucrats and piecards, sad sacks, slogan-chanters and "let-George-do-its." If there's a country where such characters don't litter up the scenery, I haven't heard of it.

The socialist peoples' morale is high because their life continues to improve. They believe they can solve the last great problem because their revolution has introduced something new into history. Excesses by power-drunk leaders after great revolutions have happened before. This revolution continued to strengthen its foundations even during the excesses, and it is the same revolutionary regime that has denounced the crimes.

LAST GREAT PROBLEM: What would have happened if no Stalin ruthlessness had been used to speed the forging of today's working socialist pattern? Would the pattern for happy, abundant life have spread across a third of the world—or would fascism have destroyed the first socialist state, spreading darkness for generations of humanity? None of us can know—any more than we can know whether the two million victims of the Spanish Civil War would have been spared, if Franco and a hundred generals had been shot in 1936.

What is the last great problem? It is to make democracy a living reality—something that every man is not only told he possesses, but that he is conscious of possessing. Like Christianity, democracy is a good idea but has never really been tried. Western peoples have dreamed, fought and drawn blueprints but as the word grew in size the reality shrank. For the new belief that only socialism can make democracy real, the Soviets set up the first laboratory, moved forward, blundered back, but persisted.

Now China and India, casting off their chains, bring their ancient wisdom into the democratic socialist chart-room. From the thinking and experience of these peoples and others the Soviet peoples have much to learn, much wheat to separate from much fatal chaff. The terror has given deep roots to bad democratic habits. Paper solutions will not cure them. But stronger than ever is the people's will that their blood, sweat and tears shall have built firm foundations to the house of living democracy.

SHUDDERS AND SHUTTERS: So, taxi-ing from East to West Berlin where planes once again have nylon blonde hostesses and free take-off mints, I return to the capitalist world. A plush world which has demonstrated, since 1945, that it is both able and willing to slaughter more innocents more quickly and more hor-

(Continued on Page 5)

(Don't miss, please!)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Hooverized atoms

GLACIER, MONT.

This morning while vacuuming my floor I was thinking of a new modern convenience we might be enjoying that would be a good seller and not need a lot of high-power salesmanship—a vacuum cleaner powered by atomic energy. Away with tangled cords, and still not long enough to do the job—old-fangled contraptions so noisy you could scream; and so weak of push you could want to throw them away. As I have a tourist camp, I have work enough to understand their lack of ability to do the job right. They just do not have the energy we women who work demand.

Let's have less bombs and explosions and war drives and go in for something we need and could enjoy. **M.**

Suez to Cathay

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Turn back the Universe
And bring back yesterday
When people in the East were born
Just to make foreign investments pay
And the White Man's burden was
Loot from Suez to Cathay
Turn back the hands of time
And bring back yesterday

L. G.

•

BALTIMORE, MD.

Two completely false arguments have been put forward on Suez.

The first is that Egypt cannot afford the upkeep of the canal and lacks the skilled personnel to operate it. However, maintenance expenses have always been met before the annual $100,000 net profits have been distributed to the owners. Also, skilled pilots and other technicians of many nationalities have always been employed on the canal and there is no reason to suppose otherwise now that Egypt owns her own canal. No reason unless England and France themselves interfere with world trade by ordering their nationals to leave Egyptian employ.

The second argument concerns "free trade." Israel has again become a tragic pawn in the power game. World leaders, long apathetic to the Egyptian embargo of Israeli ships on the Suez Canal, are now hypocritically chanting that "Egypt has proved that she cannot be trusted with non-interference with world trade." Egypt has been wrong in its embargo of Israel. But the great powers were certainly just as wrong for failing to insure free use of the canal. The reasons they did not object very strongly are varied, but they all boil down to the fact that as long as England and France took all the profits of the Suez Canal Co., they didn't care very much about free trade either.

A. Robert Kaufman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TOKYO (AP) — Japan's Welfare Ministry today unveiled a new program for helping the poor. One point calls for opening 200 more pawn shops.

Saskatoon (Sask.) **Star-Phoenix**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winned this week: B. Deverell, Saskatoon. Be sure to send original clipping (with date) of each entry.

Marx foresaw it

NEW YORK, N. Y.

David Wesley's letter goes to the root of understanding the Stalin era: the difference between the socialist and communist stages of society. Lenin, writing in **State and Revolution**, showed that he had no illusions about the socialist stage:

"What is generally called socialism was termed by Marx the 'first' or lower phase of communist society . . . the first phase of communism cannot produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the means of production, the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property."

William Mandel

Look homeward

CLEVELAND, O.

This writer fully realizes the urgent need of progressive publications that point out the evils of growing fascism in our own once "free country" and withhold attacks on other countries that are fighting for democratic freedom. What gripes the hell out of me is, that so many American so-called socialist and progressive publications fill so many of their columns with discussions, attacks, etc., on the Soviet Union that they have no space whatsoever left to point out the evils in their own society.

Chester M. Cadle

Students for Joe

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Why are we to condemn this man Stalin: because he abolished illiteracy; built the very school that Khrushchev and Bulganin's children now attend; where the collective leadership was educated; because he led the world to victory over predatory capitalism and international fascism? Are we to vilify this great and courageous leader because he waged a relentless campaign against the dark and destructive sabotages of internal wreckers?

Yes, of course there were mistakes, mistakes that result from any battle for freedom. But we do not intend to quietly swallow the dogmatic and dictatorial assertions of his detractors.

We are considering the formation of a nationwide Stalin Peace Committee to keep alive the crusading and humanitarian role of Joseph Stalin in the history of the Socialist movement and to further the study of all his accomplishments. Commentary on our idea will be welcome.

Group of college students

Paramount allegiance

WINSTON SALEM, N.C.

The legislature of North Carolina and the governor are trying to rush through amendments to our state constitution which would close public schools to circumvent the Supreme Court decision.

In view of this I would like to quote a clause from the North Carolina constitution which should make it clear that the Supreme Court ruling is paramount to any state regulation:

. . . "That every citizen of this state owes paramount allegiance to the constitution and government of the U.S. and that no law or ordinance of the state in contravention or subversion thereof can have any binding force."

Eugene Feldman, Editor, Southern Newsletter,
P.O. Box 1364,
Winston Salem, N.C.

Labor's Daily, Bettendorf, Iowa

"He's a man of great integrity, high honor and fine moral sense . . . but can we trust him?"

Act of Sentiment?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. McAvoy's proposal to vote for Farrell Dobbs seems to me an act of sentiment rather than a meaningful political act. The proposal will not create unity on the Left, move forward one iota the struggle for a National Labor Party or use the political interest created by the election to agitate for a peace program. It is for this reason that I and others are organizing a group on the West Side of Manhattan to be called the Committee for New Deal-Socialist Unity.

It is our opinion that a significant increase in the Liberal Party vote will stimulate Third Party talk and activity nationally; that a significant increase in the Liberal Party vote will make clear to liberal Democrats that the people do not want moderation but rather a fight to the finish with reaction.

But more important—we believe a principled and practical program is the basis upon which the necessary broad unity on the Left can be built now—a unity that would grow in strength and independence in the years to come. The Committee would also carry on in an organized manner through forums, etc., the necessary debate so ably begun at Carnegie Hall. I urge all West Siders interested in the above proposal to write me at 166 W. 87th St.

Hal Koppersmith

Looking forward

CANTON, O.

The GUARDIAN should be fully and forever safely subsidized. If not forever, then at least until the U.S. is changed from a drug-addicting, likker-swilling, crook-mongering social and economic Hell, to something slightly resembling Edward Bellamy's Equality.

Elmer Fish

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Freedom's deed

Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne.
—James Russell Lowell, "The Present Crisis," 1844.

SO INDEED IT MUST SEEM to those who fought for Truth, in the years beginning in 1951, through the dread climax of 1953 which saw the Rosenbergs put to death, and still today while the fight goes on for justice for Morton Sobell. Truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell Case still stands on the scaffold. Wrong taunts the truth-tellers from the forums of Congressional committees and the newspaper columns of lickspittle gossip-mongers.

Yet Lowell, who wrote his lines not in despair but to encourage the fight against slavery, reminded his comrades in that struggle:

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes on forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

And further:

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west. . .

WE CHOOSE NOT to waste our space reprinting the calumnies of the Walter Committee's purported report on the Rosenberg-Sobell clemency campaign. We deem it a duty, however, to remind the readers of this paper that it was they who originally mounted this historic campaign; and it is an ironic tribute to your efforts that a Congressional Committee should still be trying, three years after their deaths, to convince the public of their guilt.

Truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell Case is indeed still on the scaffold, but continues to speak forth, reaching encircling thousands with the sure evidence that those who fought originally for their lives and freedom were right; that wrong in this case will be toppled from its throne as surely as it has been in the bygone cases of Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, Haywood, Pettibone and Moyer, the Haymarket victims and many others sacrificed in the history-long struggle in this nation between truth and falsehood, freedom and repression.

WE SUGGEST to you who began and now carry on this ennobling struggle, that you challenge the Walter Committee's "report" in whatever newspaper in your community carried stories on it. You have redoubtable allies—Prof. Malcolm Sharp with his irrefutable legal demolition of the case in **Was Justice Done?**; the John Wexley and William A. Reuben conclusions of outright frameup which must surely have precipitated the current flurry of attacks on the Rosenberg-Sobell adherents; and the host of public figures who have expressed doubt or outright disbelief of the guilt of the Rosenbergs and now call for the freeing of Sobell.

The appearance of the Walter Committee attack has been timed to coincide with the hearing of Sobell's appeal this fall by the Circuit Court of Appeals. It is a palpable attempt from a Congressional level to influence if not dictate the course of justice; and to discourage and disperse the forces gathering the money and public support needed for the appeal.

Only a rededication by those against whom the attack is aimed can prevent it succeeding. We urge (1) that you reply with vigor to the attack in your community press; and (2) that you pitch in with might and main to help carry the Sobell appeal to the limit.

DO YOU DESPAIR of winning court decisions? Better not! As this is written Federal Judge Westover in Los Angeles has just thrown out the government's denaturalization case against Rose Chernin Kusnitz, executive director of the L. A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—a decision hailed as the most far-reaching since the Supreme Court upheld the right to citizenship of the Communist leader William Schneiderman in 1943.

The Sobell Case can be won, too, but not by sitting it out.

THE GUARDIAN

Southern terror

(Continued from Page 1)

arrested and jailed for disturbances in front of the school. A Negro woman passerby was pelted with apples and tomatoes. Kasper was rearrested and sentenced to a year in jail for violating the restraining order.

TROOPS CALLED OUT: Clinton officials on Friday evening, Aug. 31, joined the Anderson County sheriff in a request to Gov. Clement for help. Then they armed a volunteer unit of "home guards" to augment the eight-man police force. A mob of some 2,000 was dispersed by the volunteers with tear gas. But they rallied and were about to counter-attack when 110 state troopers rolled into town in 39 cars.

Troopers were replaced on Sunday by 633 armed National Guardsmen with seven tanks, 100 jeeps and trucks, mobile communications carriers and other field equipment. Observers in a helicopter reported on activities along roads leading into Clinton. The governor's office on Labor Day night announced a $5,000 reward for information leading to arrest and conviction of a man who slashed a guardsman's face.

Pittsburgh Courier

"Boys . . . we gotta face it . . . times have changed. They won't let us lynch 'em no more unless we can prove that they're subversive!"

Police at Oliver Springs, 20 miles west of Clinton, said late Monday night that dynamite blasts had been set off in the Negro section there. A Negro man trapped in his car surrounded by a mob at Oliver Springs was reported to have wounded a member of the mob and escaped.

FLARE UP IN TEXAS: In Mansfield, Tex., last week a mob threatened to use guns to keep Negroes from attending the high school for the first time. Even as the mob gathered, Federal Judge Joe E. Estes in Dallas confirmed his order for immediate integration. The Federal District and Appeals courts rejected a school board's plea to postpone integration for a year.

The Mansfield mob prevented the Negro students from registering for two days. As the GUARDIAN went to press it was believed that a new attempt would be made to register the students.

GRAETZ BOMBING: Terrorists on Aug. 25 bombed the home of Rev. Robert Graetz, 27-year-old white minister of Montgomery's all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church, presumably because of a letter he had sent to the city's white clergy 10 days earlier. The letter said that since they believed in "Christian harmony and justice" yet had never heard "the other side" of the bus-protest story, they were invited to a meeting of the interracial Council on Human Relations at Alabama State College (Negro) on Aug. 23. Protest leader Dr. Martin Luther King was to speak.

The Montgomery **Advertiser** played up a prominent minister's answer—a warning that any who accepted would be considered a traitor. Nobody accepted Graetz's invitation.

The Montgomery White Citizens Council's most notable member, Mayor Gayle, suggested that Rev. Graetz had bombed his home himself to publicize a waning bus "boycott". He made similar observations following the bombing of the homes of Rev. King and another protest leader when the demonstration, now entering its ninth month, was less than two months old.

ACTION AGAINST WCC: Pressure by Negro voters in this election year has forced the Federal government's first move against a White Citizens Council. (The WCC, organized to fight the Supreme Court's decision on jimcrow public schools, now engages in general anti-Negro activities.) The Justice Dept. last week filed a brief with the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis accusing the WCC of "terrorism" and threats of violence against Hoxie, Ark., schoolboard members.

The WCC had sought to kill Hoxie's successful school-integration policy but had been permanently enjoined by a court order. The U.S. brief quoted a WCC member's telling a mass meeting that "blood will run knee-deep all over Arkansas" if the Hoxie school board obeyed the Supreme Court.

"That type of speech," the brief said, was "subversive of orderly governmental procedures" and not protected by the courts as "free speech".

ALABAMA SUIT: Alabama's Public Service Commission and Montgomery's Board of Commissioners also filed a brief last week. It asked the U.S. Supreme Court to set aside a ruling by three native Alabama judges of the Federal court that the state's segregation laws no longer applied to city and state bus passengers. The Alabama court had suspended the injunction pending appeal. Alabama's brief pleaded that "both races have the same bus drivers, ride the same buses, look out of identical windows, pay the same fare and sit in identical seats." The tranquility prevailing under these "identical" arrangements, it said, would end abruptly "if, by court decree, a Negro man is permitted to sit beside a white woman."

NAACP and Montgomery Improvement Assn. attorney Fred D. Gray filed the original suit. He has been reclassified from 4-F—his status as assistant minister of a church—to 1-A, and will report for army induction on Sept. 17 unless Selective Service authorities heed widespread protests.

AUTHERINE LUCY: Alabama University's trustee board last Feb. 29 expelled its first Negro student Autherine Lucy allegedly for "outrageous, false and baseless accusations" following attempts on her life by a mob. She had made—and had later withdrawn—a statement that college authorities conspired with the mob to keep her out. A Federal judge in Birmingham last week denied her motion to set the expulsion aside. In ruling that he would "not interfere with the administrative acts of the trustees except upon appropriate proceedings and after a clear showing that such acts contravene the U.S. Constitution," the judge indicated that she had a right to reapply. She is now living with her husband, the Rev. Hugh Foster, in Texas.

According to the Negro press, applications from several "qualified" young Negro women and men are now before Alabama University authorities.

CP convention

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S Natl. Committee last week announced plans for the party's first national convention since 1950 to be held on the week-end of Febuary 9-12 in New York. The committee said the time lapse between conventions was due "to the imprisonment of many Party leaders under the Smith Act, political persecutions and harassment of Party members."

The convention will be timed to coincide with the birthdays of Lincoln and Frederick Douglass.

The committee said it would produce a draft resolution by mid-September for general discussion before the convention meets. It also agreed to publish minority opinions that may exist among the party's leaders.

WASH. PENSION UNION LABELED "FRONT"

SACB bars rehearing for CP; case goes to Federal court

THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES Control Board, inactivated for a time while coping with a Supreme Court order, was back in business last month minus three informers but otherwise unchanged.

After protracted hearings which ended July 1, 1952, the Board on April 20, 1953, ruled that the Communist Party is a "Communist-action" organization dominated by a foreign power and must register as such with the Attorney General under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. In April of this year the Supreme Court temporarily ducked a ruling on the constitutionality of the law but sent the CP case back to the Board with an order to take another look at the testimony of three of its main witnesses: Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch and Harvey Matusow. The CP in its appeal challenged all three as perjurers and the Supreme Court wanted to be sure it wasn't considering "tainted" evidence.

CP CHANGES: On Aug. 11 the SACB decided that the three were indeed tainted and expurgated their testimony from the record. But it found all its other witnesses pure and rejected a plea to reopen the hearings for the introduction of new evidence. After studying what remained of the record, it reaffirmed its original finding.

On Aug. 27 attorneys John Abt and Joseph Forer for the CP went into a Federal Court of Appeals with a motion that the SACB be ordered to reopen the case and accept new testimony and evidence to show that recent events prove the CP here is not controlled by Moscow. The motion argued that since the 1952 hearings the CP has changed.

In an affidavit supporting the motion, attorney Forer argued that reexamination has caused the CP to modify some "past policies and actions which flowed from . . . uncritical acceptance of certain views and acts" of Soviet leaders and that there has been CP criticism of some current Soviet policies.

Drawing by Dyad, London

"D'you think we ought to tell 'em abaht mum being in the Co-op?"

With this case winding its way through the courts again, the SACB returned to its interrupted work. Hearings have been concluded or are in progress in the cases of five organizations cited as "communist fronts" and about nine others are yet to be heard. In addition, two independent unions, the United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, have been cited as "communist infiltrated" under the Communist Control Act of 1954. Many of the organizations on this list are no longer in existence.

CAIN OUT: Last week the SACB lost its most controversial member. In 1949 Harry P. Cain, then a Republican Senator from Washington denounced the Washington Pension Union as "a notorious Communist front." The Board confidently entrusted him with hearing the case that could force the Pension Union to register.

The Pension Union which once had a membership of 30,000 in the state and was instrumental in achieving some of the Northwest's social security legislation, demanded that Cain be disqualified as prejudiced. Cain then underwent an astonishing conversion, criticized many security procedures as unjust and last November wrote that the Pension Union had in fact "worked for free milk and pensions."

CAIN CLOSES BOOKS: The Union withdrew its disqualification demands. Instead the Justice Dept. asked Cain's disqualification. The Board dismissed all demands and Cain heard the case. Before resigning on Sept. 1 Cain closed out his books. He recommended that the Pension Union be required to register as a Communist Front, but added that "it is not to be assumed that all of the past or present membership of the Pension Union have been or are Communist or Communist sympathizers."

In a recent exclusive interview in the Chicago **Daily News**, Cain expressed his belief that failure of the Administration to do anything about his charges of abuses is due to fear of being accused of "softness" on communism. He addded that "some of the boys have been reluctant to give up a campaign issue that worked in both 1952 and 1954."

Asked about his conference with the President last June 7, just a few hours before the attack of ileitis. Cain said: "I got a little rough on the old man. I told him it's worse by far for him to say that he believes in the individual and in protecting his rights, and to allow these things to go on, than it is if he said nothing at all."

HIS FINEST MINUTES: Cain said the President expressed "indignation" at some case histories cited and of one exclaimed: "This is monstrous." But he added: "I don't know what happened later, but for 40 minutes he seemed genuinely concerned."

In a more recent interview in **Labor's Daily**, Cain revealed that he has offered to supply Adlai Stevenson with all of the material in his possession on the workings of the loyalty-security set-up.

Taking Cain's place on the SACB is Mrs. Dorothy M. Lee, a prominent Oregon Republican.

Read this—and then use the coupon below

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN is eyes and ears for me from Caracas to New Delhi and from Capetown to Archangel and Eniwetok. Wherever the winds of oppression and freedom blow, there the GUARDIAN goes for me.

Where can searchers of the truth buy so much for so little?

As a cautious, one-time college professor and teacher of journalism, I have read many competently fashioned papers. But the GUARDIAN leads them all. I give it the grand prize as the best edited paper in the English language! And for sheer gusto, sweet and sour, and the joy of living, where is there a runner up?

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Holland Roberts

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A NEW WORLD COMING TO LIFE

Moscow to Alma Ata: A journey in Soviet Central Asia

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
(First of a series)

ALMA ATA, KAZAKHSTAN

WHEN THE PLANE for Alma Ata took off from the rainswept Moscow airport at 3:30 a.m., an almost full moon was setting behind the storm clouds in the west, and the eastern sky was already alight with the rising sun. Every seat in the two-engine I1-12 was taken; the stewardess asked if we were all sure we were on the right plane because "if not, it would be a long way to come back." No one stirred so we took off quickly into the rising sun.

Shortly before 7 a.m. we crossed the Ural River into Asia and landed at Uralsk, a city of whitewashed houses in the midst of vast uninhabited plains. At one of a cluster of prefabricated wooden houses (imported from Finland and seen frequently in rural Russia) breakfast was served. Uralsk, on the edge of Southern Siberia, is in Kazakhstan, whose capital Alma Ata, far across Asia, we would not reach until late evening. (Second largest republic in the Union, Kazakhstan stretches from the Urals to the Tien Shan Mountains on the borders of China.)

THE VIRGIN LAND: Seven hours out of Moscow, we stopped at Aktubinsk (meaning White Mountain, though there isn't a sign of one), a town of small manufactures. It has recently become something of an international airport since it is a regular stop on the Moscow-Tashkent-Kabul (Afghanistan) line which connects by Indian Airlines to Delhi. Many flowers and wildflowers, the haunting smell of acacias and violets in the wind, the profound quiet and stillness of the steppes made this an unexpectedly lovely spot.

An Aktubinsk worker told us about the new collective farms being established nearby by young people from all over the U.S.S.R., volunteers in the campaign for plowing millions of acres of virgin land. Beyond Aktubinsk, the steppe below, though patchily green, looked bare and baked hard as a rock. But soon there was a big rectangle of plowed land, then another, and still another. Surely there could be no better way to grasp the scope and imagination of the "new lands" campaign. For hours of flying over the steppe suggested its immensity and these patches of warm brown earth below seemed to spell a singular triumph. Their number and proximity were surprising. At one point there was a tent city—new arrivals who had barely begun the plowing. (The harvest from the "new lands" is expected to be so rich this year that authorities are worried about manpower and the adequacy of transport facilities.)

FLOWERS AND FASHIONS: At Akmolinsk where the cool wind smelt of fresh grass, an Alma Ata dressmaker, returning from the English Fashion Show in Moscow, gathered bunches of a lavender flower. This was Kazakhstan's favorite flower, she said, often used for tea and called by the people "bogatskaya" (worn by the gods). She explained that her shop had sent her to the show because "people are living better now and want to dress better, so we must know the fashion drawn up in Moscow and also abroad. The English materials were beautiful, softer and nicer than ours, but the styles are too slim for our figures."

Later, as we walked back and forth in the bitter wind at Karaganda, a government worker pointed to construction underway nearby. He said: "Only a few years ago this was a desert. Look at it now." Karaganda has one of the largest open-face coal mines in the world and is today a city of white houses, factories and mournfully whistling coal trains. "I lived here from 1917 to 1927," my companion added, "when there was nothing here but camels."

A NIGHT AT BALKASH: Storms over Alma Ata forced us to spend the night at Balkash, a copper mining center on the edge of Lake Balkash. Lightning and thunder stormed over the lake, a freezing wind shrieked over the steppes; in the west the sun set serenely in an almost cloudless sky. In the few wooden houses on stilts which comprised the airport settlement, harried women tried to work out sleeping arrangements. Owing to the plane's disproportion of sexes, the women's dormitory was almost empty, the men's overflowing. Those without beds were highly disgruntled because the women wouldn't share their dorm.

When we left at 4 a.m. snow warnings were up. In our thin cottons, we longed for the 110-degree heat we had been promised in Central Asia.

FIRST SINCE DOUGLAS: A brilliant rainbow hung over the snow-covered blue spurs of the Tien Shan mountains when we reached Alma Ata. This "place of apples" stands on what look to be foothills but are actually twisted cone-like remnants from the geological destruction of the northernmost chain of the Tien Shan system. The road from the airport to the city—once the caravan route from Byzantium to China—runs through rich green countryside, intersected by swiftly flowing rivers coming down from the mountains. The city itself is a mass of green, pyramidal poplars, mountain pine, white birches—and flowers everywhere.

JUSTICE AND MRS. DOUGLAS SIGHT-SEEING IN MOSCOW IN '55
This photo was taken outside the St. Louis Catholic Cathedral

I was the first "American delegation" (any visitor, even a lone newspaper reporter, is a "delegation" here) to come through this part of the world since Supreme Court Justice William Douglas' visit last year. Douglas, after a trip through Central Asia and Kazakhstan, wrote in **Look** (12/13/55) that in this whole area Russia practices "a brand of colonialism similar to the kind France practiced in Morocco and more evil than anything England ever promoted."

Everyone I talked with, I quickly discovered, either had read or knew of Douglas' article: "Soviet Colonialism—Product of Terror." There was great indignation, especially among those who had welcomed him. All gave me messages to deliver to Douglas.

THE UNSEEN CAMEL: The president of the Kazakh Academy of Science and the heads of five of its Institutes—all but one were Kazakhs born of poor peasant or nomad families in yurts [skin tents] before the Revolution—recalled that Douglas had written that there was no Kazak science or culture. But, they said, he had not even visited the Academy. "Please tell him," they said gently, "that it is impossible to write about science without coming near the center of scientific life of this Republic."

Douglas spoke with the rector and faculty heads of the State University, they said, almost all of whom are Kazakhs, and later wrote that there was no Kazakh higher education. They asked me to remind him of a Kazakh saying: "If a man doesn't want to see, he won't notice even a camel." The dynamic Russian director of a machine tractor station recalled a happy day with Douglas who "promised to write us and send us copies of the pictures he took. Bring him back with you when you come to the opening of our Palace of Culture next year, our workers have a thing or two to tell him."

ONE MAN REMEMBERED: Hamrakul Tursunkulov, chairman of one of the best cotton farms in Uzbekistan, recalled the friendly speech Douglas made before more than 5,000 collective farmers, his favorable words for the collective farm system, his dances with the farmers. Tursunkulov said: "We were all happy. We thought he was a big man and his friendliness meant better relations between our countries. We Uzbeks consider if a man gives his word, it must be a law to him. If he didn't like us, why did he say he did? History is driving in such a direction that we must and always will be friends. Tell him that."

If once happy memories of Douglas (whom everyone had liked) have turned regretfully bitter, there is one American who after 12 years is remembered in this part of the world with undiminished warmth and affection. Henry Wallace, Kazakhs told me, "came here and every place he went ate our national dishes to the last crumb and as if he enjoyed them. Even a sheep's head. We don't care what his politics are. We'll never forget him."

4 OTHERS 'INTERMEDIATE'

Army discharges 2 GI's honorably after long fight on loyalty program

ELEVEN MONTHS AGO eight privates took the commanding general of the U. S. First Army into Federal District Court in New York and opened a full-scale legal battle against the Army's "loyalty" program which has purged and blacklisted GI's for their views, their reading matter, their opinions, and in some cases, for their relatives.

Last week six of those GI's were out of the Army. Two of them, Bertram Lessuck and Rudolph Thomas, were given honorable discharges and retained in the Reserves. But Samuel Suckow, Stanley Hauser, and David and Jonathan Lubbell were given "indeterminate" discharges which leaves it up to the Army to decide at a later date whether or not they will carry the stigma of a less-than-honorable discharge. Theodore Bernstein and Bernard Radoff have some months of service to go.

UNBLEMISHED RECORDS: Why the Army drew these distinctions among the men was unclear. Charges against each were based on alleged activities or associations before their induction. All had stood on the Fifth Amendment in refusing to fill out the Army's loyalty questionnaire. Each had a totally unblemished service record and each had been given the usual Army hearing which allows for no confrontation of witnesses and places the burden of proof on the accused.

In most of the eight cases the Army charged that the GI's continued relations with their wives, parents, brothers or sisters who had engaged in political activity disapproved by the Army. One GI was accused of maintaining friendly terms with his half-brother and half-sister who 15 years ago belonged to an organization which the Attorney General subsequently called subversive.

THE STAKES ARE HIGH: At stake is the right of the Army to induct a man knowing all his associations, allow him to serve his full hitch, then stigmatize him with a less-than-honorable discharge which deprives him of all GI school or training benefits. Those thus discharged have found it difficult to get or keep jobs after an employer has discovered the nature of their discharge. Attorneys for the eight, Albert L. Colloms and Stanley Faulkner, have sought to establish the principle of "an honorable discharge for honorable service."

The legal fight forced the Army on the defensive. Federal District Judge David Edelstein denounced the Army procedure as a "shocking perversion of the elementary canons of due process." Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties, forced the Army to promise to investigate and reject all "risks" before induction, not afterward; but the Army left itself sufficient loopholes. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), in a correspondence with Defense Secy. Wilson called the procedure "repugnant" and "a form of entrapment."

Colloms and Faulkner have petitioned the U. S. Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari which would make possible a full hearing on the constitutionality of the Army purge program.

What fun!

BEAN PICKER — Freckle-faced Nan Bonney, 6, is a bean picker at the Chase and Whittaker yard near Eugene, Ore. She gets 2½ cents a pound. Shortage of migrant labor has made a great demand for children who go to work with their parents and have a gay time.

Caption to a picture in the Los Angeles **Times**, Aug. 5

WILL HE SQUARE OFF AGAINST JOE IN '58?

For Congress: Leroy Gore in Wisconsin's Third

By Lawrence Emery

FROM BEFORE DAWN to well after dark these days—seven days a week—an automobile churns along the backroads of Wisconsin's Third Congressional District. It is Leroy Gore of Joe-Must-Go fame making his town-to-town, farm-to-farm, door-to-door, man-to-man campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives. He is doing it the hard way—partly because he hasn't enough financial backing to do it any other way (he can't afford radio, TV or big mailings), and partly because he prefers it that way. He believes that the personal contact, the chat with the farmer, worker and small businessman, is the only way for the candidate to know the electorate, and vice versa.

Since mid-April, when he formally announced his candidacy, to the end of July he had talked personally to more than 3,500 farmers in his district. In addition, he averages two speeches a week to labor and farm groups. He estimates that the GOP will spend at least $500,000 this year in Wisconsin to elect their candidates; he has nothing to counter with except imagination, hard work and volunteer help.

HIS PROGRAM: Gore, a country editor and a devout Republican for 30 years, lost by a fraction his monumental effort to unseat Joe McCarthy with his recall movement, but he gained such nationwide respect and admiration that even **Life** magazine in March, 1955, suggested that he would be the man to run against Joe in 1958. But when columnist Miles McMillin of the Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** suggested the same possibility in the same month, Gore wrote in to deny all. He said:

"Doubtless I could whale the daylights out of McCarthy in 1958 just by reading his pitiful Senatorial record loud and often, but so could a lot of guys who want to be U.S. Senators. I don't."

LEROY GORE
Out of the wilderness

But he thoughtfully sent along a political program which he suggested would be a good one for any McCarthy opponent. These are some the points it contained, as summarized by McMillin:

An ultimate guaranteed annual wage for labor; fixed high parity for farmers; a comprehensive planned program of low cost housing; recognition that war has at last been made so cruel and devastating that a formula for coexistence is perhaps the only hope; revision of our antiquated educational system; more soil conservation; broader use of surplus foods in a peace offensive among needy nations.

HE QUITS THE PARTY: When the Wisconsin Republican convention in July, 1955, endorsed McCarthy, Gore denounced the action at a time when "McCarthyism is about to vanish permanently." Then he announced:

"I have no choice other than to cease being a Wisconsin Republican."

He again denied that he sought any office, but added: "If I were convinced that my candidacy might be indispensable to the defeat of Sen. McCarthy three years hence, I presume I might be persuaded to run. But this extremely hypothetical situation is unlikely."

In December of that year he announced that he was considering seeking the Democratic nomination in the Third District, but it wasn't until April of this year that he formally announced his candidacy. He attacked Republican incumbent Gardner Withrow for voting for the natural gas bill, against the $20 tax cut for low incomes, and against 90% parity. Earlier he had said of the incumbent: "I feel that Withrow is worse than a reactionary because he apparently was born a liberal and then turned reactionary."

A ROUGH PRO: In taking on Withrow, Gore was walking into a battle that could equal in ferocity his recall movement. Withrow has been a fixture in the House from 1930 to 1940 and again since 1948. One farmer warned: "Withrow's a rough candidate, maybe the strongest Republican in the state. He's a veteran and a pro." But Gore said:

"There are enough liberals in the Third District to elect a liberal Congressman any election year, but the reactionaries have been notably successful in dividing the small businessman from the farmer, the farmer from the laborer and the laborer from both his friends, so that the liberals have defeated themselves. I like to think that the voters of the Third District are at long last prepared to vote for a Congressional candidate who will vote for them."

It would literally be at "long last" because no Democrat has been elected from the Third District for a half-century.

HELP IS NEEDED: Last week Leroy Gore was seeking support from liberals and progressives from outside his state in his contest with "a candidate financed by the large corporations for whom he has obediently voted." He was considered an easy winner in the primaries on Sept. 11, but the real fight would begin after that. In a nationwide appeal, Secy. John R. Gasser of the Leroy Gore for Congress Committee (Lock Box 169, Sauk City, Wisc.) wrote:

"Some of us are Republicans, others Democrats or Independents; but we have not forgotten that he led us from the wilderness at a time when it took courage beyond belief. No one can say that Leroy Gore is a coward. We need a fighter in Congress.

"He has paid a severe price in rallying us to a 'just cause'. We believe he will get his reward by being elected to Congress. However, this will take a lot of hard work and financing to insure success. . . . Financial help is of utmost importance at this time."

Is it possible?

NATIONAL LEADERS shy away from "novel solutions [and] responsibility for innovations" such as universal disarmament. Therefore, "nations of the world must be guided by the clearer perspective and unshackled common sense of the general public."

To acquaint the general public with the issues involved in the current disarmament discussions, the Public Affairs Committee, in cooperation with the Institute for International Order, has published an excellent 28-page pamphlet entitled "Is Disarmament Possible?", written by Jerome H. Spingarn, a Washington lawyer. The pamphlet is objectively written and illustrated with fine pictorial graphs by Bunji Tagawa. It gives the point of view of both East and West. For copies at 25c each (bundle orders at lower price) write to Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16.

Cedric Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

ribly than was ever achieved since the dawn of time, with the blessing of someone it calls God. But potentially a very plush world if you happen to have dropped from a womb of the right color in the right milieu. A world that thinks it can afford to go into moral shudders about the Khrushchev report.

Can it really afford such luxuries? Its performance with regard to Egypt's claim to Egypt suggests that, while its slaughter and political persecution techniques are the latest, in other areas it still has to discover what century it is living in. The papers of the plush world—my first in six weeks—are free-wheeling in style and easy on the eye, and full of shudders about Egypt's "aggression." The Soviet papers—prim, orthodox and heavy—were full of the problem of getting in this year's record grain harvest.

THERE WAS NO GOD: But I am not worried about Egypt nor, despite press and pontiffs and piecards, about the future of socialism in the U.S.S.R. I think that, with the support they have, and the lessons they have learned, they can make out. I am worried about us, the capitalist-world progressives whose job is to make our own socialism and to keep capitalist governments from plunging everyone into disaster between now and then.

Of course we should know what goes on in the Soviet Union. But too many of us are staring watery-eyed at Moscow as if there had been a god and he had failed. We are missing the wood for the bloody trees.

There never was a god, and what there was has not failed. This is what there was and is: a common people's movement for peace, freedom and abundance rooted in an old rotten order.

"In all such movements there are bound to be injustices; we have to learn slowly and painfully how to exercise power." Simple, obvious words, but echoing in my head because the speaker, an East Berlin publisher, was the last man I interviewed on my journey. He was not a piecard but a graduate, at once steeled and sensitized because that's all you can be except dead, of Dachau and Buchenwald—a hard school.

You meet today in the socialist world many graduates from assorted hells, and a sojourner for but three months in a hygienic American jail doesn't feel like giving them a moral lecture. Especially so if they were sent to hell by their own comrades.

THE POLITICAL POLICE: The cure for the yearning to lecture the U.S.S.R. is to talk with the head of the CP publishing house in Warsaw, recently back from six years' deportation, or with the critic and editor Garelov in Leningrad. Said Garelov, a Jew:

"I am a CP member for 30 years, and for 17 of them I have been in Communist prisons. My fate in a way is a reflection of that of the country as a whole. These things are already history for us now that the party has shown its integrity by exposing them and straightening them out."

Said his fellow-editor of the magazine **Zvezda:** "We are against rubbing salt in the wounds. We are trying to look forward, to make men like Comrade Garelov part of our life again."

The political police still exists. I was told I could interview somebody there, but I didn't press it: it would have been a stunt, but what would he have told me? It would be nice if they could do without it, but they don't think they can at least until the fever of the U. S. Congress abates a little. A newspaperman who impressed me more than any other of my new acquaintances insisted that since the 20th Congress the political police was erring on the side of over-mildness.

THE GOAL NEEDS DEFINING: What proof is there that it is now under effective and lasting control? I have none. As for paper guarantees, the almost identical answers I got everywhere from a Leningrad police captain to a vice-chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Court were less convincing than those you would get from an authority on American guarantees—but paper, as American progressives know, is paper. We have to leave it to the Soviet people and especially to the Garelovs. They know from experience what can happen and they must stop it happening. If they can't achieve justice and democracy, there is nothing we can do to help them—except perhaps to set a better example than we are offering now.

We Western progressives have a good deal to our credit by our standards, but precious little by theirs. We have enthroned a rigidity and intolerance that were entirely unnecessary in our circumstances and, with parrot-cries imitated from another world, called it science. We are talking about the sins of the first successful socialist revolution but our own movement—certainly in America and in Britain—is hardly a ripple upon the waters. We are talking about our own sins but not defining them so that we may start afresh.

"Let us try," writes Anna Louise Strong, "to define the goal for which all this was endured." It is curious that she, the only direct American victim of Beria-Stalin, should be showing more wisdom today than any other American progressive; and yet, perhaps Garelov would say, not so curious.

LENINGRAD: EDITOR GARELOV (2d from l.) TALKS WITH BELFRAGE (r.) AND BRITISH VISITORS
"In Siberia," he said, "I won a special honor for raising the best chickens"

AFL-CIO Council

(Continued from Page 1)

AFL-CIO president George Meany, who with exec. secy. William Schnitzler refrained from voting, said: "I don't consider this attaching ourselves to any political party." He added, however, that "from this moment on I am supporting the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket."

He said the Democratic platform was better than the Republican since it called for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley rather than the GOP's promise to amend it. The civil rights planks of both parties, said Meany, "weaseled around" the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

RANDOLPH'S POSITION: For A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, one of the two Negro members of the Council, jimcrow made compromise impossible. He voted against the endorsement of any slate and even after that question was decided, voted against support of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket because of the Democrats' weak plank on civil rights.

The other Negro council member, Willard S. Townsend of the Transport Service Workers Union, was ill and absent.

Randolph stood alone in voting against admission into the AFL-CIO of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, a 96,000-member union which excludes Negroes. The AFL-CIO Constitution condemns discrimination, but all efforts to put teeth into that condemnation failed at the convention which merged the two federations. Meany said he felt the lily-white union's policies might be modified "at some later date" after admission.

ON PROSPERITY: Meany fended off reporters who quoted him as saying recently that the American worker "never had it so good." He said: "Yes sir, I will stand on that. But I don't think the Republicans had anything to do with it."

De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH

He gave the credit to the "good old American dynamic economy, which is still running strong despite the Republicans."

(In Moline, Ill., last week the Intl. Harvester Council of the United Auto Workers declared: "Meeting in the Farm Equipment Capital of the U.S. we cannot see the evidence of prosperity because the majority of Harvester workers face weeks of layoffs and cutbacks.")

The Council also ordered the 25,000-member Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers Union to show cause at the next council meeting why it should not be suspended for its racketeering influences. It also served notice of investigation on the Laundry Workers Intl. Union (72,000) and the Allied Industrial Workers, formerly the AFL United Auto Workers (73,000). Johnny Dio, charged with masterminding the blinding by acid of columnist Victor Reisel, was once regional director of the AFL-UAW and allegedly manipulated six locals in a shake-down racket.

LONGSHORE SOFT-PEDAL: The three unions were under fire from the Senate Sub-committee on Welfare and Pension Plans. Meany complained that though the Dept. of Justice had the information, no indictments have yet been handed down.

The running warfare with the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. was soft-pedaled but not abandoned.

A LABOR PARTY? There were counter currents among the labor leaders. Schnitzler told the Republican platform committee that "the last thing in the world we want is a labor party." But the president of Schnitzler's own union, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, James Cross, at the same time told the California Fedn. of Labor it might be necessary "to look for other avenues and other political affiliations . . . We should start thinking that the two-party system of ours is not sacred."

It recalled Transport Workers Union president Michael Quill's shortlived enthusiasm for a labor party at the time of the merger convention. The West Coast longshoremen have also said a labor party is needed.

N.Y. STATE CIO MEETS: In Albany, New York's CIO convention, enthusiastically pro-Democratic, was cordial to Republican Atty. Gen. Jacob K. Javits, who has announced his availability for the Senate seat held by Sen. Lehman.

The convention plumped for Mayor Wagner for Senator on the Democratic ticket. Lehman himself made his farewell fight for a strong civil rights position at the Democratic convention. **Newsweek** reported it wasn't primarily family pressure but the Democrats' compromise on the civil-rights plank that caused Sen. Herbert Lehman to decide against running for re-election. "I can't run on that platform," the 78-year-old Senator was said to have told an associate.

The convention also heard James B. Carey of the electrical workers union assail the Eisenhower Administration for failure "to redeem millions" in Communist countries.

Labor went on record on national security, too. In the current **AFL-CIO News** Secy.-treas. Schnitzler says: "Labor should be invited to take part in the administration of our government's industrial security program, as applied to workers in industry."

PUBLICATIONS

A Cultural Treat in
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THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

Boudin gets his passport; State Dept. ducks a fight

ATTORNEY Leonard Boudin, who has pressed the "right to travel" in a series of test cases, last week won his own passport when Secy. of State Dulles reconsidered an earlier rejection. The Boudin case, argued by attorney Harry I. Rand, had already whittled down the State Dept.'s right to deny passports on the basis of "faceless informers."

Boudin was given a limited passport in 1954 after filing an affidavit that he was not then a member of the Communist Party. In seeking to lift the restrictions he refused to testify that he had never been a CP member. In Feb., 1955, the Passport Office, acting on undisclosed "evidence," ruled that Boudin was "under the discipline of the Communist Party."

STRONG DECISION: On Nov. 22, 1955, Federal District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl ordered the Passport Office to grant Boudin a full hearing within 20 days and lay out its evidence to conform with requirements of due process. In his ruling Judge Youngdahl said:

"More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been and is wrought by the secret informer and faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remains locked in confidential files. . . . It must now be accepted that travel abroad is more than a mere privilege accorded American citizens. It is a right, an attribute of personal liberty, which may not be infringed upon or limited in any way unless there be full compliance with the requirements of due process."

STRATEGIC RETREAT? The government appealed Judge Youngdahl's ruling. On June 28 the U. S. Court of Appeals sent the case back to Secy. Dulles ordering him to grant Boudin a

LEONARD BOUDIN
Not the main test yet

passport or make his reasons for denial more specific.

In announcing Dulles' reconsideration a State Dept. spokesman said it was because Boudin had testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities earlier in the year that he had never been a member of the CP. Regardless of how large that testimony figured in its decision, the State Dept., by retreating in Boudin's case, had saved itself for the time being from a definitive high court ruling that might have demolished present passport procedures.

PUBLICATIONS

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Dr. Carlson dies at 81

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLson, militant humanist and distinguished scientist, died last week of cancer in Chicago's Billings hospital at the age of 81.

When he came to the U. S. from his native Sweden he apprenticed himself to a carpenter, then studied for the ministry and gave up the church for a career as a physiologist and teacher. He championed mankind in battle with religious interpreters of the world and became known to his University of Chicago students as Ajax, (the Greek hero who fought without calling on the gods for help). He similarly told anti-vivisectionists that man was vastly more important than a dog.

The recipient of many scientific honors he was the 94th President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and served as an adviser to the Government on nutrition in both world wars.

He also was a prominent spokesman for peace and civil rights. With the late Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, he was co-chairman of the Midwest Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born. He leaves a wife, two sons, a daughter and six grandchildren.

Soviet education

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Very much interested in Tabitha Petran's articles on Soviet education. We recently published a pamphlet on Higher Education in the Soviet Union which we believe has considerable interest for people. It was written by Elizabeth Moos, graduate of Columbia's Russian Institute and a Master in Slavic literature. Price 25c.

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CALENDAR

Altadena, Calif.

SWIM PARTY for the GUARDIAN Sat., Sept. 22 noon-6 p.m. 2189 N. Altadena Dr. (formerly Foothill Blvd.) Suggested donation: adults, 75 cents; children, 40 cents. All welcome.

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Crawdad Song
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I've A Pretty Flower
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#11. FOLKSAY: VOL. IV with Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston and Ernie Lieberman.

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#12. FOLKSAY: VOL. V with Cisco Houston, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Hally Wood, Leadbelly, Frank Warner and Sonny Terry.

Come All You Fair and Tender Ladies
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Hobo Bill
Go Tell Aunt Rhody
Teroo
Johnson Boys
The Rover
House of the Rising Sun
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#13. FOLKSAY: VOL. VI with Tom Glazer, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Ernie Lieberman, Gary Davis and Sonny Terry.

Down in the Valley
Froggy Went A-Courtin'
Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe Corn
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Streets of Laredo
Soldier, Soldier
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Erie Canal
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#23. JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC, VOL. 1 presented by Norman Granz.

Here is an album of true improvisation. It was recorded at a jam session at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. The musicians were unaware that a record was being made. The artists include; Illinois Jacquet, Willie Smith, Charlie Ventura, saxophones; Joe Guy, Howard McGhee, trumpets; Garland Finney, piano; Red Callendar, bass; Ulysses Livingston, guitar The Chicago Flash, drums.

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the SPECTATOR

Scintilla and the Ilk

IN HER NEW ankle-length rodomontade of sheerest fustian, hemmed with contradictions and leaving her positive viewpoints provocatively exposed, Scintilla was sure she had never looked lovelier. Yet here she was seated with her favorite Ilk by this idyllic mainstream—and all he could do was rub his balderdash and whistle a rigmarole to the flapdoodles winging overhead in well-informed circles.

"Look," she contributed to the discussion. "During this whole historic period of onrushing petty-bourgeois philistinism you and I have maintained close ties. Maybe it's the political climate. Why can't we forge firmer links and establish a durable alliance?"

Ludas Matyi, Budapest

" . . . You right-wing deviationist, you!"

In the brilliant moonshine she saw him stiffen. "Note should be taken," he stressed, "of the fact that every time one of our trained cadres refers to 'the Chiang Kai-sheks and the Syngman Rhees and their Ilk', it's **me** they're talking about. I'm no ordinary Ilk, you know."

"It's precisely because, dear," she breathed. For a moment she was silent, striving to correctly assess the relationship of forces. Then she declared: "How long does your contract run?"

"Indefinitely—stalking horses like them will always need an Ilk. But if you feel a sharpening need for one, what's wrong with that Ilk of the Meanys, the Reuthers and the Dubinskys? Sure, his principles are far from unshakable and he's a bit of a lackey—but did you notice the speed with which his inner contradictions were gathering momentum when you sat next to him at breakfast?"

"I can't weld unity with just **any** old Ilk—you don't know how negative my approach has been ever since I lost Charybdis," Scintilla sighed.

"The whole perspective you're projecting is incorrect," the Ilk interjected. "A principled Ilk can't belong to just one person, it has to be plural. Frankly, such an alliance would be unholy. It would be letting down the Chiangs and the Rhees."

"So what? They're nothing but rotten elements."

"That," said the Ilk, withering away, "is not a nice thing to say to their Ilk. But far more significantly, my dear, it would be a betrayal of the whole cultural role of **Political Affairs.**"

She bent toward him in a gesture of recklessness and adventurism and a tear fell on his khvost, but he flowed from her.

"Besides," he hammered out, "you're **not!**"

"Don't!" The whole broad strata of her was trembling now. "That's what all the Ilks say! But has one of them had the Ilkhood to test it out in the crucible of struggle? Not they!"

"However, it corresponds with the objective situation, so why not face it? Even if you were plural, imagine what a laughing-stock I'd be if people started talking about 'the Scintillas and their Ilk'? As is well-known, there's never actually **been** a Scintilla, let alone a tribe of them. It's basic—in fact, it's key. It's always '**not** a Scintilla.' The only time anyone ever mentions you is to point out that you don't exist. It's not just that you're non-U. You're not even you."

In a sudden frenzy of self-determination Scintilla rushed forward on the correct path, threw herself into the mainstream and was swept out into the broad current.

"One conclusion must be drawn," said the Ilk. "It is necessary at every juncture to prevent and defeat the stubborn efforts of the economic royalists . . ."

". . . And their Ilk," came from behind him with a faint splash as he strolled back to the camp of unbridled reaction.

"Strange what tricks the imagination plays," he mused. "I could have sworn I heard a Scintilla."

—Cedric Belfrage

With acknowledgments and apologies to Decca Treuhaft's LIFEITSELFMANSHIP, or How to Become a Precisely Because Man, An Investigation into Current L (or Left-Wing Usage). Illustrated by Pele. Fifty cents, plus 10 cents postage. Write: Decca Treuhaft, 574—61st St., Oakland, Calif.

Thomas Nast honored in Germany

The father of American political cartooning, Thomas Nast, is being honored this year in the Palatinate, Germany, where he was born in 1840. Exhibitions, lectures and television programs recall to his countrymen the artist who originated the Democratic donkey, Republican elephant and Tammany tiger and lent his talent throughout the Civil War to the Union cause. Lincoln called him his "best recruiting officer." Grant said: "He did as much as any one man to preserve the Union."